1: Tittev E-S (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively.

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llanco in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV).

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language.

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-8 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

571 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to each of his relatives as happens to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9."

574 Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how
•575 difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked, to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

586 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness
[762] that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer
586 suicide to any other arrangement.[14] The rarity of divorce is also
595 correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[13] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[14] Cf. Hunter, 1935, p. 240.

1:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SGI Accessions SGI

584 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of llamas, textiles, shirts, adornments (feathers), food, chicha, coca, later, chickens, cattle, horses, textiles, spurs, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other elder relative, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of chicha.

583 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on horseback to his house or to the woods near therein; after 1 to 3 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from simulated capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriage with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parent's wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Joseph, 1933-34, pp. 707-08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained post factum and the bride-price given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling at all to live with her simulative (or real) captor, she hanged herself (Moesbach, 1936, p. 341). Some elopements, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or elopement, if the father absolutely refused post factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1663, 2:630).

585 The wedding rites and observances consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a llama or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal imbibing of chicha or

1 Copies E-4 (no date) 1966 SQ4 Accessions SQ4

other children's belongings. The feasting would last until all the chicken 585
were eaten, even 4 to 6 days.

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. 595
Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives, wealthy
and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with considered
norm of 10 (Martin de Lerma, 1888, p. 134), 30 (Beauvoir, 1903, p.
401), Rousset, 1902, p. 61), or even 50 (Sanz, 1891, 2:6-vi; 20:180).

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a
certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife com-
monly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling,
or, according to Mourgues (1848, p. 282), if the husband were wealthy
her own separate hut, and, according to Cuba (in Montesoro, 1888,
p. 102), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In
the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns,
a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting 562
accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was
in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband;
in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, wives
generally were found to have been treated with a certain consider-
ation and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom.

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people 582
who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her
husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Steril-
ity, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more com-
monly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be
given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to
her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man,
the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price
the husband had paid for her.

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the 684
husband, together with her paramour, or she she was sent back to her 628
father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband,
the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives;
if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return
of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded
through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually,
adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Beauvoir,
1903, p. 333; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166). When a wife returned to her
parents, she usually took with her her small children.

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make 768
payments of linsees (lingkas) or other valuables to her people; if
through his fault, higher payments.

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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CHOICE OF MATE, MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

With some variations, the traditional proper procedure in the choice of the first wife and the accepted marriage ceremonial were as follows: (1) One or more interviews were held between the father of the man and the father of the woman, or between a representative of the father of one of them and the father of the other. Sometimes the father talked to his son regarding the woman whom he wished him to marry; just as often he did not do so. Sometimes the mother of the woman was present at the interviews between the men; more often her husband conferred with her and then held the interviews. This was true regarding the mother of the man, also. In instances, too, the parents conferred with a daughter to learn her wishes regarding the man; more often she was not consulted. (2) An agreement was reached between the two fathers regarding the number and kinds of animals to be paid as bride price. The bride price was eventually paid by the man and his father to the woman's father. Articles of clothing and silver ornaments were usually given as gifts but were generally stipulated in the bride price also. (3) The date for the marriage was set. (4) The marriage ceremonial was carried out in the ruka of the woman's parents, usually consisting of three parts: the bride price was delivered to the woman's father by the man and his father in the presence of the man's mother and other relatives, and gifts were exchanged; second, the giving of good advice to the man and the woman; and third, the partaking of food by all. In some instances the last two were omitted. (5) The man took the woman to the ruka of his parents where they were to live for some time. (6) The woman's personal belongings and her animals were transferred to her new home. "The thing that told people that these two were married was the fact that the man had paid the price—maybe a horse, an ox, and several cattle—for the woman. There was no wedding ring, or anything like it. The woman merely went to live in the ruka of the man's parents—that is, in a part of it—where she cooked and kept house for the man." Second and subsequent wives merely moved into their assigned ruka when the man got the consent of the woman's parents.

An Alepde man in his late forties told of his marriage: "When I went for my wife, there were seven persons with me: my father, my brother, my mother, my oldest sister, and three man relatives. We left home the day before, spent the night in the hills, and arrived at the girl's home just at sunrise—one should arrive while the girl's family is still sleeping. As soon as we arrived there, we paid the bride price and gave gifts that we had brought." The informant did not

10: Ritger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

585 tell what the bride price had been but went on to say: "If we had been rich we might have brought as bride price several animals, probably a cow with its calf, a young cow bearing a calf, an experienced ox, a young untrained ox, and a horse. We might have taken as gifts two large black shawls, one for the girl's father and one for her mother; for the mother, also, a kupam [dress], a trarilonko [headband of silver medallions], and a trapelakucha [silver ornament with long dangles, usually ending in a cross, worn on the breast]; for the girl's father, we might have brought 50 to 60 pesos of silver. After we had handed over the gifts, the girl's mother led the girl to my mother. The girl's mother and father then talked to her, telling her to obey my father and mother; from then on, to respect me, her husband, and also her sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, and whoever would be in our ruka. Then we ate—we had not eaten any food that day. After that we sat around and talked, and in the afternoon the women prepared another meal. We ate it, and then went home. I took my bride with me. When we arrived at my home, a plentiful meal and mudai had been prepared for us there, also."

583 Kidnaping a bride, spoken of as stealing a woman, or eloping with one who had consented to marriage unbeknown to her parents (both ways are called pepiton) were institutional but were not considered proper ways of marrying. Kidnaping was done either by the father of the man and the man, or by the man himself. Kidnaping occurred when the woman's father refused the man's father his request for the woman; when the fathers had agreed upon a marriage, but the woman refused to marry the man; when the man knew that the woman was willing to marry him, but her parents refused to allow her to do so; or when the man was unwilling or unable to pay the bride price.

A woman informant described kidnaping as follows: "The man's father asks the girl's father for the girl, but he refuses to give his daughter. Then the man's father finds six men, the strongest he can find among his friends, and they set out to steal the girl. During the night they go to the ruka of the girl and the strongest of the six men sneaks in and carries the girl out by force, holding her securely in his arms, like one does a baby. The men outside stand ready to defend him and themselves, should the father and brothers of the girl retaliate—something they may do with pieces of burning wood or whatever they can lay their hands on. The men outside may take from their hands whatever they have, but they are not to hit the father or brothers. Sometimes, however, the men on both sides are much beaten up and even receive head injuries. If the girl resists and will not voluntarily mount the horse they have brought for her to ride, they

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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584 gradually dropped after the Argentine army moved in. An informant in her seventies had not been paid for; neither had her 30-year-old son paid for his wife.

832 Love charms, such as nail parings or hairs of the one to be charmed, were not known. Informants had a hearty laugh at the idea. According to Kolupan, however, a man could ask women who were his relatives to take an unwilling girl, in a guileless way, to an underground place in which two sorcerers lived. These would impose a spell on the girl and then influence her to love the man. "From then on the girl would be willing to marry the man!"

787 Today, young girls in the area about San Martin de los Andes speculate as to the kind of husband each will marry, probably following a custom of Argentine girls. On an evening, especially the Eve of St. John (December 26), each of several girls will take soot from the bottom of a tea kettle, mix it with water, let a drop fall on a piece of paper, fold the paper where the drop is, put the folded paper under her pillow, and sleep on it. (Ink, if available, is used in place of soot.) In the morning the girls will read their fortunes regarding a husband from the dried blots; or they will take the dried blots to persons who have the reputation of being professional interpreters of them. If the blot, for example, looks like a dog or a puma, the girl's marriage will be an unfortunate one; if it looks like the head of a horse, or any large animal, the prediction is favorable.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

585 Formerly, before dawn, by the time the roosters crowed, the man, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and many other relatives were already at the home of the girl. Soon after their arrival they presented the bride price, and, following this, formal conversation was carried on. "It took a great part of that day," said Kolupan, "until the many, many, many words were spoken that it was customary to speak before the man got his girl." Following this formal conversation an abundant meal of meat was served, provided by the parents on both sides. The man's parents and relatives had brought with them the heart of a cow or of a horse, which was eaten at the beginning of the meal by the couple in the presence of all that had come to the marriage. "All persons present saw these two together eat that heart; that was a sign to them that these two were now married."—In more recent years it has been the custom for the couple, and the parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles of both bride and groom to squat in a circle and each take a bite of the heart.—When the meal

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripe by the men, and chamall and ekull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today. 585

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today a woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family." 586

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed. [684]

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high-pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!" 574 585 [516]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

574 585 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chachai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their [195] voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. 'We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolupan, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is piñen.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-[591] law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the home of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS ABODE, SACRED FIGURINES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as fɔta chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as ŋonechén; at the

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
583 the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted *only* with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

582 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His
572 attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage—that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Sec-
587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
581 puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

583 Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
000 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho- 585
lic rites, important less for the religious significance than because 428
church registration and the civil registration which accompanies [177]
Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will [671]
stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers.

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* in- 583
volves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set.

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, 583
and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and 581
discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

583 great. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [423] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *tukulthungung*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *ñillaṉthungung*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional matrilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal rela- [588] tives through former marriages.

583 584 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are feted by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment—a matter of a few pesos—on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [273]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

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585 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is
589 viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillanthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the [583] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep [264] for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *tukul napiñin*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

179 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there
584 is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's [583] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight any more, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

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relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revalidated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasionally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

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583 423 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

613 602 583 571 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 431 602 571 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's family receive animals from the groom and his family. The special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

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While the marriage feast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutun* (derived from *mafun:* brideprice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillanthungun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*weupin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affineship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñillan* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "seniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and